

IN THE

# United States Court of Appeals

FOR THE NINTH CIRCUIT

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GEORGE C. WICKS,

*Plaintiff and Appellants,*

*vs.*

SOUTHERN PACIFIC CO. (Pacific Lines),

*Defendant and Appellee,*

BROTHERHOOD OF MAINTENANCE OF WAY EMPLOYEES,  
*Intervenor and Appellee.*

PHILIP F. JENSEN,

*Plaintiff and Appellant,*

*vs.*

UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD CO., a corporation,

*Defendant and Appellee,*

BROTHERHOOD OF RAILWAY AND STEAMSHIP CLERKS,  
FREIGHT HANDLERS, EXPRESS AND STATION EMPLOYEES,  
*Intervenor and Appellee.*

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On Appeal From Order Denying Preliminary Injunction  
and Order Granting Summary Judgment and Dismissal.

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## BRIEF FOR APPELLANTS.

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Nos. 14483-84

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## BRIEF FOR APPELLANTS.

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### Jurisdiction.

This Court has jurisdiction of this appeal by virtue of the authority of Section 1292, Title 28 U. S. C. A., which authorizes appeals from interlocutory orders of the district courts of the United States granting, continuing, modifying, refusing or dissolving injunctions, or refusing to dissolve or modify injunctions.

The constitutionality of the Railway Labor Act, Title 45, U. S. C. A. Section 151, *et seq.*, and, in particular,

Section 152 Eleventh thereof is involved. Section 15 Eleventh, Title 45, U. S. C. A. provides, in material part that any carrier and a labor organization are permitted to make agreements, requiring as a condition of continued employment that within sixty days following the beginning of such employment, or the effective date of such agreements, whichever is the later, all employees shall become members of the labor organization representing their craft or class under certain conditions as set forth in the said section.

The complaint alleges that jurisdiction is based upon diversity of citizenship, a controversy involving more than \$3,000.00, and the determination of a federal question, namely, the constitutionality of certain provisions of the Railway Labor Act, and, in particular, Section 152 Eleventh, Title 45, U. S. C. A., the constitutionality of the collective bargaining agreement and arbitration proceedings and award made pursuant to, and under the authority of, the said statute [T. R. pp. 63-64]. The complaint alleges that the defendant carrier is a Utah corporation doing business within the Southern District of California, Central Division [T. R. p. 55]. (In the companion case, Southern Pacific Co. is alleged to be a Delaware Corporation [T. R. p. 105].)

### **Statement of the Case.**

This is a suit in equity to enjoin the defendant railroads from carrying into effect a provision of a union shop contract with the defendant unions which would require Appellants to become members of the defendant union as a condition of employment with the defendant carriers.

The complaint alleges that, under the Railway Labor Act prior to January 10, 1951, it was illegal for any car



rier to interfere with the organization of its employees or to coerce its employees to join, or not to join, a labor organization, and, further, that such a prohibition on the carrier was made a part of the contract of employment between the carrier and each employee; that on January 10, 1951, the Railway Labor Act was amended by the addition of Section 152 Eleventh, Title 45, U. S. C. A., which provides that any carrier and a labor organization are permitted to make agreements, requiring as a condition of continued employment that within sixty days following the beginning of such employment or the effective date of such agreement, whichever is later, all employees shall become members of the labor organization representing their craft or class under the conditions set forth in the said section; that on the 7th day of March, 1953, the defendant railroad and the defendant union entered into a collective bargaining agreement requiring union membership within sixty days as a condition of employment; that Appellant did not, within sixty days after the effective date of the said agreement, become a member of the defendant union nor did Appellant agree to pay initiation fees, dues or assessments to the said union; that arbitration proceedings were had wherein it was ruled that, since Appellant had not complied with the terms of the union shop agreement, his seniority and employment should be terminated within ten days of the date of the decision. By notice dated February 2, 1954, defendant railroad notified Appellant that effective February 5, 1954, Appellant's services with defendant railroad would be terminated because of the failure of Appellant to become a member of the defendant union; that Appellant is a member of a religious group known as the Plymouth Brethern, and Appellant's belief in the infallacy of the Scriptures

as the inspired Word of God precludes Appellant from becoming a member of or paying dues, fees or assessments into any union; that Appellant has offered to contribute to any nationally recognized charity a sum which is equivalent to the dues, initiation fees and assessments otherwise required of the members of the defendant union; that Appellant has acquired numerous benefits from thirty-seven years of seniority, including pension rights, free transportation over any railroad in the United States, Canada or Mexico and hospital and medical benefits for the rest of his life, all upon retirement at age sixty-five in the employ of defendant railroad; that Appellant is now fifty-seven years of age; that the proposed discharge will deprive Appellant of his wages, seniority rights and benefits and his right and ability to earn a livelihood in the work in which he has been trained; that a discharge is based on the authority of Section 15, Eleventh, Title 45, U. S. C. A.; that said section is unconstitutional and void; that judgment be given Appellant declaring the provisions of the Railway Labor Act, the collective bargaining agreement and the arbitration proceedings and award unconstitutional and void, insofar as they are applied to Appellant and for a permanent injunction restraining and enjoining the defendant railroad from terminating the employment and seniority of Appellant for failure to become and remain a member of, or pay initiation fees, dues and assessments to, any labor organization.

Defendant union was permitted to intervene and, on motion of the intervening defendant union, Appellant's application for injunctive relief was denied, the temporary restraining order was vacated, and motion for summary judgment was granted and the cause dismissed.

## Statement of Questions Presented.

Did the District Court err in holding and concluding that Section 152 Eleventh, Title 45, U. S. C. A. was duly enacted by the Congress of the United States in the exercise of its powers to regulate commerce among the several states?

Did the District Court err in holding and concluding that the claim of Appellants that enforcement of the union shop agreement of March 7, 1953, between defendant union and defendant railroad violates constitutionally protected rights of Appellants is without merit and must be denied?

Did the District Court err in holding and concluding that the Second Amended Complaint fails to state a claim upon which relief can be granted?

Did the District Court err in holding and concluding that Section 152 Eleventh, Title 45, U. S. C. A. violates no constitutional rights of Appellants and, as a part of the supreme law of the land, it is valid and effective to authorize and permit the making of the said union shop agreement of March 7, 1953, which agreements are valid, subsistent agreements between the defendant railroad and the defendant union and must be given effect according to their terms.

I.

The Union Shop Statute Deprives Appellants of Their Right to Work and Freedom of Association Contrary to the Guarantee of the Fifth Amendment That No Person Shall Be Deprived of Liberty or Property Without Due Process of Law.

A. The Right to Work.

The due process clause of the Constitution protects an individual's right to work against federal or state legislation. The Supreme Court has made it clear that Congress, in seeking to regulate interstate commerce, under the Railway Labor Act, must, in exercising such power conform to the requirements of due process imposed by the Fifth Amendment.

*Virginia Railway Co. v. System Federation No. 42*  
300 U. S. 515.

In several cases the Supreme Court has stated that the right to work is protected by the due process provision of the Federal Constitution. In *Yick Woo v. Hopkins*, 118 U. S. 356, the Supreme Court said:

"The very idea that one may be compelled to hold his life, or the means of living, or any material right essential to the enjoyment of life, at the mere will of another, seems to be intolerable in any country where freedom prevails, as being the essence of slavery itself."

In *Allgeyer v. Louisiana*, 165 U. S. 578, 589, it is said

"Liberty means not only the right of the citizen to be free from the mere physical restraint of his person, by incarceration, but the term is deemed to embrace the right of the citizen to be free in the enjoyment of all his faculties; to be free to use them

in all lawful ways; to live and work where he will; to earn his livelihood by any lawful calling; to pursue any livelihood or avocation . . . .”

In *Truax v. Raich*, 239 U. S. 33, 41, the statement is made that:

“It requires no argument to show that the right to work for a living in the common occupations of the community is of the very essence of the personal freedom and opportunity that it was the purpose of the amendment to secure.”

Accord,

*Meyer v. Nebraska*, 262 U. S. 390;

*Pierce v. System of Sisters*, 268 U. S. 510;

*Takahashi v. Fish & Game Commission*, 334 U. S. 410.

This constitutional right to engage in one of the common occupations of life cannot be made subject to unreasonable or arbitrary conditions. In *Smith v. Texas*, 233 U. S. 630, Smith was convicted for violation of a Texas statute making it a crime to act as a railway conductor without having first served for two years as a freight conductor or brakeman. It was conceded that Smith, through his experience in other positions, was competent to fill the position. The Supreme Court held that the statute was unconstitutional saying at page 636:

“Insofar as man is deprived of the right to labor, his liberty is restricted, his capacity to earn wages and acquire property is lessened, and he is denied the protection which the law affords those who are permitted to work. Liberty means more than freedom from servitude, and *the constitutional guarantee is*

*an assurance that the citizen shall be protected in the right to use his power of mind and body in any lawful calling."* (Emphasis added.)

Union membership is just as unreasonable and arbitrary a condition of railroad employment as the qualification struck down in *Smith v. Texas*.

The right to work is a constitutional right and as such is entitled to the full protection of the due process clause of the Federal Constitution. Individuals may make private contracts and in them waive their constitutional rights, if they wish, but these same rights cannot be taken away from them by the state or federal government.

Due process requirements are met where employees are given the privilege of organizing and bargaining through their representative, provided non-union employees are not in that process deprived of the same freedom which gives rise to the rights of the majority. The freedom to join and that of not joining are correlative. It is unrealistic to claim that individual employees are free to quit their jobs if they do not wish to join the union. It is generally recognized that employees do not have the theoretical freedom to quit, especially where they are responsible for the support of a family. The end result in most cases is that the employees are deprived of religious freedom by the economic necessity of joining the union in order to keep their jobs.

#### **B. The Right to Freedom of Association.**

Appellants' freedom of association is threatened by the compulsory unionism sought to be enforced upon them under the union shop amendment. This is the factor which is critical to Appellants by virtue of their religious teach-



ings and doctrines, which hold that members of the Plymouth Brethern may not be associated in any group where there are unbelievers.

It is a fundamental right of men to organize and bargain collectively with their employer, a right which exists separate and apart from legislation. *N. L. R. B. v. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation*, 301 U. S. 1; *Auto Workers v. Wisconsin Board*, 336 U. S. 245. The instant case involves the converse of this right, that is, the right not to associate. All freedoms rest on choice. *If men are free to join unions, they must also be free not to join; otherwise, they have no freedom of association.*

### C. Property Rights of Appellants Have Been Infringed.

Many seniority rights acquired by Appellants which are protected by the Fifth Amendment have been infringed by the union shop statute. Appellants' wages are property and, to the extent that they are forced to pay initial fees, dues and assessments to the union, they are deprived of their property. Further than this, the wages, medical benefits, pension rights, and free transportation for life are rights of property founded on contract and protected by the Fifth Amendment.

*Nord v. Griffin*, 86 F. 2d 481;

*Primakow v. Railway Express Agency*, 56 Fed. Supp. 413;

*Piercy v. Louisville Railroad Co.*, 198 Ky. 477;

*Stephenson v. New Orleans, etc. Co.*, 180 Miss. 147;

*DeMille v. American Federation of Radio Artists*, 31 Cal. 2d 139.

II.

The Union Shop Statute, Insofar as It Requires Involuntary Money Payments, Is a Deprivation of Appellants' Property Without Due Process of Law in That It Is an Exercise of the Taxing Power in Favor of Private Organizations.

Congress can require money payments only through exercise of the power of tax. This power to tax is limited by the requirement that taxes be collected only for a public purpose.

*United States v. Butler*, 297 U. S. 1;

*Loan Association v. Topeka*, 20 Wall.

Congress cannot, under the guise of a tax, accomplish that which is otherwise forbidden. *United States v. Constantine*, 296 U. S. 287. It follows that Congress cannot disguise an unlawful tax by purporting to enact it pursuant to a constitutional power other than that empowering it to levy taxes.

Insofar as the union shop statute requires that employees pay initiation fees, dues and assessments to a union, it is a requirement of money payments and unmistakably an imposition of a tax. It is a tax for the benefit of a private organization and must be held an invalid exercise of the taxing power.



III.

**Appellants Are Denied Freedom of Assembly, Petition and Speech Protected by the First Amendment.**

The freedoms secured by the First Amendment are entitled to a "preferred" constitutional position. *Thomas v. Collins*, 323 U. S. 516. Congress may not, in the guise of labor legislation, pursuant to its power of interstate commerce, abridge the freedoms guaranteed by the First Amendment.

*Jacksonville Paper Co. v. N. L. R. B.*, 137 F. 2d 148, 152;

*N. L. R. B. v. Virginia E. & P. Co.*, 314 U. S. 469, 477.

The freedom of assembly or freedom of association encompasses the right to join any private organization, including a labor union. *Thomas v. Collins*, *supra*, 323 U. S. 516. At page 532 the court said:

"The right thus to discuss, and inform people concerning, the advantages and disadvantages of unions and joining them is protected not only as a part of free speech, but as a part of free assembly."

The freedom of assembly, of course, includes the freedom not to assemble, just as freedom of speech necessarily carries with it a freedom to be silent.

*Board of Education v. Barnette*, 319 U. S. 624, 633.

When a man is compelled to become a union member because his only alternative is to give up his means of

earning his livelihood, he can hardly be said to have joined of his own free will. Further than that, if he is required to make financial contributions to its support and maintenance, his freedom of assembly is completely destroyed.

The right to petition is also invaded. When one becomes a member of a union, he becomes associated with an organization which engages in a variety of political activity, advocating specific legislation and supporting particular candidates for office. Where membership and support are involuntary, freedom of petition is abridged because the individual is required to authorize a union to petition in his name regardless of his personal desires in the matter. Of course, the individual could quit his job to protect his right to petition for himself, but the Constitution does not require this in order to exercise a fundamental freedom.

The rights granted under the First Amendment are not absolute, but before they can be abridged, there must be a "clear and present danger" to justify infringement of these rights.

*Board of Education v. Barnette, supra*, at 639

*United States v. Dennis*, 183 F. 2d 201, 212.

IV.

The Union Shop Statute Violates the Proscription  
Against Involuntary Servitude of the Thirteenth  
Amendment.

The requirement that in order to hold his job, a man must become a union member and thereafter pay to the union such amounts as are levied in the sum of fees, dues or assessments, is involuntary servitude. The Thirteenth Amendment is directed against forced labor. It was intended to prevent a man from being compelled to work for another against his will.

*Pollock v. Williams*, 322 U. S. 418;

*Taylor v. Georgia*, 315 U. S. 25;

*Bailey v. Alabama*, 219 U. S. 219, 245.

A man's wages represent his physical efforts. When a man is required to make involuntary money payments to a union, he is to the extent of these payments required to deliver the fruits of his labor. For practical purposes, the labor necessary to produce the fruits for delivery to a union is being performed for the union itself, so that compulsory union membership and payment of initial fees, dues and assessments requires labor for the union. Compulsory unionism does not result in involuntary servitude to the railroad, but is involuntary servitude *to the union*. To argue that a man is always free to terminate his employment and go elsewhere, and hence there is nothing involuntary involved, is specious. The mere existence of alternatives does not mean that an unwilling selection of one course of action is not involuntary in a legal sense. When a man joins a union only because the alternative is to surrender a substantial wage, seniority and retirement benefits, his "choice" of union membership can hardly be anything but involuntary.

V.

The Union Shop Statute Was Not Enacted Pursuant to the Constitutional Power to Regulate Interstate Commerce.

In *Virginia Railway Co. v. System Federation No. 40* *supra*, 300 U. S. 515, it is said:

“The power of Congress over interstate commerce extends to such regulation of the relations of rail carriers and their employees as are reasonably calculated to prevent the interruption of interstate commerce by strikes and their attendant disorders.”

There is nothing in the title of the Act, nothing in the Act itself, that indicates that it was supposed to have any effect on interstate commerce whatsoever. The Reports of the Committee of the House and Senate do not indicate that the Amendment has any relation to interstate commerce. The Reports do not show that the Amendment is reasonably calculated to prevent the interruption of interstate commerce. The Reports do not say that state laws which the Amendment purports to set aside directly burden or obstruct interstate commerce. In short, there is nothing in the Amendment to connect the statute with the commerce power of Congress. As the Supreme Court said in *Adair v. United States*, 20 U. S. 161:

“\* \* \* [W]hat possible legal or logical connection is there between an employee's membership in a labor organization and the carrying on of interstate commerce? Such relation to a labor organization cannot have, *in itself* and in the eye of the law, any bearing upon the commerce with which the employee is connected by his labor and services. \* \* \* H

fitness for the position in which he labors and his diligence in the discharge of his duties cannot in law or sound reason depend in any degree upon his being or not being a member of a labor organization. It cannot be assumed that his fitness is assured, or his diligence increased, by such membership, or that he is less fit or less diligent because of his not being a member of such an organization. It is the employee as a man and not as a member of a labor organization who labors in the service of an interstate carrier.' (208 U. S. at 178-179.)"

This legislation authorizing union membership is of the type of legislation held in *Railroad Retirement Board v. Alton Railroad Co.*, 295 U. S. 330, not to be a valid exercise of interstate commerce. In the *Railroad Retirement* case, *supra*, the court held that pensions were related solely to the social welfare of the worker and were too remote from being a regulation of commerce; so, in this case, the imposition of union membership is related solely to the social welfare of the labor unions and is too remote from being a regulation of commerce. The legislation is simply designed to strengthen particular claims of employees in their bargaining relationship with the employer.

It can hardly be argued that if union membership is not required as a condition of employment, the lack of compulsory union membership will interrupt, if not destroy, interstate commerce. The lack of compulsory unionism during the past twenty years has not contributed in any respect to the interruption of interstate commerce, where compulsory unionism has been prohibited by federal law.

VI.

The Union Shop Statute Unconstitutionally Deprive  
Appellants of Freedom of Religion Secured by the  
First Amendment.

We submit that the case of *West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette*, 319 U. S. 624, is decisive of this case in favor of Appellants. In the *Barnette* case, *supra*, the State of West Virginia passed a law requiring pupils in public schools to salute the flag of the United States while reciting a pledge of allegiance under penalty of expulsion. Children of Jehovah's Witnesses' faith were expelled from school because they refused to salute the flag and recite a pledge of allegiance because to do so violates their religious beliefs. The Supreme Court held that the State statute requiring the salute to the flag and the recitation of the pledge of allegiance was unconstitutional as invading the right to freedom of religion and freedom of opinion in violation of the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution.

In the course of the opinion in the *Barnette* case, the Supreme Court gives several reasons why the statute is unconstitutional as applied to persons with religious principles. All of the points have striking similarity to the facts of this proceeding. The first point that the Court made was that the freedom asserted by the members of Jehovah's Witnesses did not collide with rights asserted by any other individual. That is true in the instant proceedings. The freedom asserted by the employees in this case does not collide with the rights asserted by any other individual. Any person is free to join the union if he so desires. These employees ask only that the right of freedom of religion not be interfered with. The Court noted that the behavior of the Jehovah's Witnesses



as peaceful and orderly. This is true in this case. Second, the Court in the *Barnette* case observed that the action required was not optional, it was compulsory just as in the instant proceedings. The Court emphasized the element of coercion involved. Third, the Court stated that the action requires the individual to publicly accept political ideas contrary to his beliefs where such acceptance is coerced. Likewise, in this case the action of compelling these employees to join the union is to coerce them into publicly accepting political ideas contrary to their beliefs where such acceptance is coerced. Fourth, and as an offshoot of the third point, the Court noted that the statute required affirmation of a belief and attitude of mind. In this proceeding the employees are required to publicly accept something that they do not believe in. Fifth, the Supreme Court noted in the *Barnette* case that the statute suppressed expression of opinion where there was no clear and present danger existing. The Court observed that freedom of opinion and religion cannot be impaired by a sovereign unless a clear and present danger to society exists. Certainly there is no clear and present danger existing in this case which necessitates an individual to join a particular union and thereby compromise his religious convictions. Sixth, the Supreme Court stated that the purpose of the Bill of Rights was to protect minorities from majorities and that one's right to freedom of religion may not be submitted to a vote of a majority. In sum, this means that a majority in Congress cannot interfere with these employees' right to freedom of religion. Finally, the Supreme Court observed that the sovereign cannot restrict freedom of religion except where grave interests of society must be protected. We adopt the language of the Supreme Court quoted hereafter as being particularly pertinent to this proceeding:

“If there are any circumstances which permit exception they do not now occur to us.”

The trial court was clearly in error in stating that, assuming the presence of the hand of government, still the First Amendment's guarantee of freedom of religion protects only against “prohibitions.” This conflicts with countless decisions which show that individual constitutional freedoms are protected not only against *prohibition* but also against the imposition of unreasonable and arbitrary conditions on their exercise. Two cases, of major point are *Murdock v. Pennsylvania*, 319 U. S. 105 and *Follett v. Town of McCormick*, 321 U. S. 573. In each of these, the Supreme Court struck down, as an unconstitutional invasion of freedom of religion, a local tax imposed on Jehovah's Witnesses, for distribution of literature on the streets. There was no *prohibition* involved in these cases. *Murdock* and *Follett* were free to pay the tax in question and distribute literature as they wished. The trial court in this instant case stated that no showing had been made that appellants were being discriminated against. There is no need to prove *discrimination* to prove a case of unconstitutional invasion of freedom of religion. In the *Barnette* case, *supra*, where the Supreme Court held unconstitutional enforcement of the rule requiring public school children to salute the flag, there was no discrimination in the sense referred to by the trial court. There was simply a showing of unreasonable and arbitrary consequences imposed as a result of adherence to religious tenets, and so there is in the instant case. Appellants are threatened with discharge from employment because their religious beliefs will not allow them to join and lend support in any way to an organization, including a labor organization, whose members do not share their faith. That is all that the law requires to be shown.



VII.

The Requirement of Compulsory Union Membership Pursuant to the Union Shop Statute Involves "Government Action" so as to Require Decision of the Constitutional Questions Raised.

The first ten amendments to the Constitution are a check only on the activity of Congress and are not limitations on purely private action. (*Corrigan v. Buckley*, 271 U. S. 323, 330.) This requirement does not extend to the Thirteenth Amendment's proscription of involuntary servitude, which, by definition, applies to government and private action alike.

The decision of the constitutional question raised in this case does not require a showing that the object of complaint is *solely* the action of government. The condition is satisfied by showing that private parties have been aided "in some way" by "government's thumb on the scales." (*American Communications Association v. Douds*, 339 U. S. 382, 401-402; *Civil Rights Cases*, 109 U. S. 3, 11, 17.) The points to be made in this connection are:

1. Affirmative intervention by Congress through the Railway Labor Act was and is absolutely necessary to insure against frustration of its intention of saving national uniformity for the railroads in the union shop matter.

2. The statutory position of the unions under the Railway Labor Act is such that their activities in relation to the union shop have been and are, in legal effect, actions of the federal government.

3. The union shop amendment must be considered an express decision by Congress that the union shop should prevail in the railroad industry since Con-

gress knew that the effect of the amendment would be that compulsory unionism would be imposed on the railroads of the United States, and Congress must have intended the consequences of its acts.

When Congress enacted the union shop amendment of 1951 to the Railway Labor Act, it did much more than merely remove a preexisting proscription against bargaining for a union shop. There was in existence in several states statutes expressly outlawing compulsory unionism by "right to work" laws. These state "right-to-work" statutes would have precluded the unions in the railroad industry from demanding that the railroads sign a system-wide union shop agreement. If the Railway Labor Act said nothing about the union shop, these state laws would unquestionably be applicable. To take precedence over state law affirmative congressional action in favor of the unions was necessary. It was necessary to carry out the intent of congress to put the unions in a position to bargain for union shop agreements valid in all of the forty-eight states. By express terms, the 1951 amendment purports to take precedence over all state laws to the contrary. The purpose of Congress to supersede state law applied not only to "right to work" laws in existence at the time of its amendment, but also to those which might subsequently be enacted. Thus, the effect was actually felt in all states. In those having "right to work" laws, the laws were swept aside with respect to railroad employees. In other states, the legislators were told that they could not pass "right to work" laws applicable to railroad employees. It is not within the power of private parties to modify state laws; only an act of Congress can do so. It cannot be denied that such far-flung exer-

tion of sovereign power constitutes "government action" by Congress.

Consideration of the statutory position of the modern labor union has led a number of courts to consider the role which Congress has given them when constitutional issues have been raised. It is settled law that where a labor union, organized and functioning pursuant to authority of statute, performs certain acts which the statute directs or permits, what it does partakes, in legal effect, of the nature of governmental action. In *American Communications Ass'n v. Douds*, 339 U. S. 382, 401-402 (1950), the Supreme Court said of actions of a labor union certified under the National Labor Relations Act as an exclusive bargaining agent:

"Power is never without responsibility. And when authority derives in part from Government's thumb on the scales, the exercise of that power by private persons becomes closely akin in some respects, to its exercise by Government itself."

In *Steele v. Louisville & Nashville Railroad Co.*, 323 U. S. 192 (1944), it was argued to the Supreme Court that a collective bargaining agreement secured by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen was unconstitutional because it discriminated against Negroes. The Court said:

"\* \* \* [The labor union] representative is clothed with power not unlike that of a legislature which is subject to constitutional limitations on its power to deny, restrict, destroy or discriminate against the rights of those for whom it legislates and which also is under an affirmative constitutional duty equally to protect those rights." (323 U. S. at 198.)

This quotation unmistakably recognizes that when legislative body like Congress vests power and authority in groups or associations like defendant unions, the actions of the latter are to be judged as tantamount to those of the legislature. So, in this case, Congress swept aside state laws to vest in railroad unions power to demand and get contracts requiring union membership as a condition of employment. It is, therefore, impossible to conclude that there is no "government action" in the case.

The Supreme Court has several times spoken as to what constitutes "State action" sufficient to raise constitutional questions under the Fourteenth Amendment. We must take it that its words would be equally applicable in determining what constitutes Congressional action as to require decision of constitutional issues raised under the first ten Amendments. In a leading case, the Court said that questioned action must be "sanctioned in some way by the State, or \* \* \* done under State authority in the shape of *laws, customs*, or judicial or *executive proceedings*" to raise a constitutional issue under the Fourteenth Amendment. (Emphasis supplied.) (*Civil Rights Cases*, 109 U. S. 3, 11, 17 (1883).) These statements were expressly reaffirmed very recently in *Shelley v. Kraemer*, 334 U. S. 1, 14 (1948).

Surely, in the case at bar, the union demands for union shop have been "sanctioned in some way" by Congress. Their demands have clearly been made pursuant to Congressional authority in the form of the Union Shop Statute coupled with the other provisions of the Railway Labor Act which vest in the unions the exclusive bargaining position they occupy and which command railroad to bargain with them. And, it cannot be controverted

that the union demands have been sanctioned by "executive proceedings" in the form of the hearings before and report of Emergency Board No. 98 expressly *recommending* that the nation's railroads sign union shop agreements with appellant unions.

In *Steele v. Louisville & Nashville Railroad Co.*, *supra*, the Supreme Court said:

"If the Railway Labor Act purports to impose on petitioner and the other Negro members of the craft the legal duty to comply with the terms of a contract whereby the representative has discriminatorily restricted their employment for the benefit and advantage of the Brotherhood's own members, *we must decide the constitutional questions, which petitioner raised in his pleading.*" (Emphasis added.) (323 U. S. at 198-199.)

To comply with the unequivocal meaning of the quoted language from the *Steele* case, this court must pass upon the constitutional questions raised.

This Court cannot overlook the additional fact that Congress has spelled out the particular type of union shop that is permissible. It has not permitted the parties to enter into their own form of union shop agreement or a type of union shop agreement which may be lawful within the various states at common law or by statute. Consequently, it is Congress that is sanctioning the particular type of union shop agreement involved in this proceeding.

That the unions, shortly after enactment of the Union Shop Statute, would demand and obtain union shop contracts across the country was pointedly forecast by labor leaders as well as representatives of management. George M. Harrison, union official, appeared before the Sub-



committee of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare United States Senate, in support of the Amendment. After conceding that there were approximately 280,000 to 350,000 employees on the railroads who were not union members, the following colloquy ensued:

“Senator Donnell: They are not in the unions to this time?”

Mr. Harrison: That is right.

Senator Donnell: So, if this bill is passed, somewhere around, we will say, in round figures, 300,000—ranging from 280,000 to 350,000—people who thus far have not joined the union will find themselves confronted by a bill whose first purpose is, according to your statement, to cause every employee to become obligated to join the union. That is right, is it not?

Mr. Harrison: That is right.” (*Hearings before Subcommittee of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare on S. 3295, 81st Cong., 2d Sess., 2 (1950).*)

Jacob Aronson, Vice President and General Counsel of the New York Central Railroad Co., stated that:

“If this bill is enacted into law, it means that every railroad employee \* \* \* must join the union and pay dues and continue to be a member in good standing in order to hold his job.” (*Id.*, 152.)

Paul J. Neff, Chief Executive Officer of the Missouri Pacific Railroad, made the practical aspects of the statute plain:

“I note in this bill the words ‘shall be permitted—(a) to make agreements.’ The words might just as well be written ‘railroads shall be required to make agreements.’ Certainly there can be no doubt that

economic pressure would be applied in the usual way if the word 'permitted' is used." (*Id.*, 190.)

R. H. Smith, President of the Norfolk & Western Railway Company said:

"If Senate bill 3295 becomes a law, the labor organizations would undoubtedly present and prosecute on a Nation-wide basis demands for union shop and the check-off, or automatic deduction from employees' pay of union dues, fees, and assessments. Experience in recent years and the known fact that the railroad labor organizations have requested this enabling legislation demonstrate that they would push their demands to the point of finally resorting to their economic strength and the strike weapon to enforce their demands. *Thus, enactment of the bill would be practically equivalent to establishment of the union shop with a check-off system on all railroads.*" (Emphasis supplied.) (*Id.*, at 176.)

Emergency Board No. 98 was created to consider the union demands for union shop contracts in light of the amendment and recommended that the Nation's railroads accede to those demands. Referring to the hearings before committees of Congress which preceded enactment of the Amendment, the Emergency Board itself said:

"\* \* \* [I]t was specifically and emphatically advised by several of the Carrier spokesmen that passage of the amendment would mean enactment of the union shop for the whole industry. And even if these statements were to be discounted as advocacy, *Congress was in no doubt as to the intention of the unions to press vigorously for the union shop on a national basis. Congress cleared the path for such uniform national treatment of the issue by enacting that State laws against compulsory unionism should*

*not stand in the way of agreements on the railroads*—departing in this respect from the model of the Taft-Hartley legislation. But Congress did not stop there. *It provided detailed terms on which union-shop agreements might be made*, dealing not only with the problem of discrimination and arbitrary union action against members but also, in careful detail, with the problem of dual membership in the operating phase of the industry. And all this Congress did with thorough knowledge of the facts concerning the current status of the unions on the railroads. \* \* \* (Emphasis supplied.) (Report of Emergency Board No. 98, February 14, 1952, 11-12.)

These quotations demonstrate that Congress knew what the consequences of the union shop amendment to the Railway Labor Act would be and what its purpose was. Congress knew that all non-operating employees of the National railroads would be faced with the alternative of joining and paying their money to the union or lose their job. No conclusion can be reached but that Congress intended that result and that its hand is unmistakably involved in this case.

### Conclusion.

For the reasons set forth herein, it is respectfully submitted that the order and judgment denying a preliminary injunction and granting summary judgment at dismissal of the above entitled cause should be reversed. May, 1955.

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